# 40 Ways to Fight the Far-Right:

Tactics for Community Activists in Canada

Adapted by the Canadian Anti-Hate Network based on Spencer Sunshine's "40 Ways to Fight Fascists"

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#### About this edition & the authors

The first edition of this guide was written by U.S. antifascist researcher Spencer Sunshine and published in August 2018 as 40 Ways to Fight Nazis: Forty Community-Based Actions You Can Take to Resist White Nationalist Organizing. A second edition, 40 Ways to Fight Fascists: Street-Legal Tactics for Community Activists, was released in 2020 in collaboration with the Oregon collective PopMob. Short for Popular Mobilization, this Portland, Oregon group is united around a single, common goal: to inspire people to show up and resist the far-right with whimsy and creativity.

This version of the guide builds on the 2020 guide, and is prepared by the Canadian Anti-Hate Network, in collaboration with Spencer Sunshine.

**Spencer Sunshine** (<u>spencersunshine.com</u>) holds a PhD in Sociology and has researched and organized against the far-right for almost twenty years. He is the author of *Neo-Nazi Terrorism and Countercultural Fascism: The Origins and Afterlife of James Mason's* Siege (Routledge, 2024).

The **Canadian Anti-Hate Network** (CAHN) is a proudly antifascist, anti-racist, independent nonprofit organization. CAHN counters, monitors, and exposes hate promoting movements, groups, and individuals in Canada using every reasonable, legal, and ethical tool at our disposal. We use our research and experience to support communities, schools, unions, families, affinity groups, and more in confronting and preventing far-right hate and fascism wherever it appears.

Our goal is to defeat the far-right through a broad, strong, and autonomous movement. This movement is not hierarchical, and we aren't its leaders. We at CAHN will help the movement by supporting and convening anybody who shares our values and purpose, and by providing intelligence on the far-right. What happens in your area is up to you.

The Canadian Anti-Hate Network has never and will never encourage or endorse violence or criminal behaviour.

## Introduction

In 2019, Christian nationalists, white supremacists, and hate preachers came to Hamilton, Ontario's annual Pride Festival to protest and disrupt the celebration for the second year in a row. Local antifascists—prepared with noisemakers, drums, and large signs—used an enormous black banner to block them from view.

The white supremacists came ready for violence, which broke out when a hate preacher punched an antifascist. One far-right protestor wearing body armour smashed two Pride defenders in the face with his ballistic helmet.

One week later, a Hamilton newspaper columnist hand-waved away the issue of who instigated the fight. He concluded that "there's no question that once the violence began boneheads on both sides of the political divide were grappling and throwing punches" and hoped "mutual responsibility will be reflected in upcoming police charges."

There was handwringing and equivocating by the city council and local media in the months that followed about the actions of the Pride defenders against the threat posed by the far-right that day. Many (falsely) condemned the very act of counter-protesting as contributing to the problem.

This "bothsidesism" was reminiscent of the way many public figures (including then-president Donald Trump) talked about the deadly white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia two years earlier.

That's where this guide comes in. We believe that counter-protesting the far-right is just and necessary to prevent them from intimidating and harming marginalized people and growing their movements.

But this guide also offers much more.

The actions outlined in here help to contain far-right organizing, and prevent or mitigate the damage it inflicts on our communities. While everyone will not be able to do everything, this guide offers ideas for people of all backgrounds, identities, and skill levels. While we encourage people to show up in person, there are also many options for people who aren't able to do that.

Together, these actions present a diversity of tactics which raise the cost of participation in far-right politics.

### Defining fascism, the far-right, & hate

While there are many definitions of "fascism," one of the most straightforward comes from the <u>United States Holocaust Museum Encyclopedia</u>1:

Fascism is an ultranationalist, authoritarian political philosophy... It opposes communism, socialism, pluralism, individual rights and equality, and democratic government.

Other definitions of fascism that you may find useful include <u>Umberto Eco's "14 Properties of ur-Fascism</u>" and <u>Roger Griffin's "New Consensus</u>". Fascism looks different in every time and place it emerges. This means that we can't, for example, decide whether Donald Trump's MAGA movement is fascist by measuring it one-for-one against Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy. History doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme.

For the Canadian context, we're going to use the terms "far-right" and "hate-promoting" to refer to the movements and ideologies that this guide is designed to help you counter. Some of the movements and ideologies may also be fascist, but not all of them are.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Fascism." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, May 28, 2019. https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/fascism-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eco, Umberto. "Ur-Fascism." *The New York Review* XLII, no. 11, June 22, 1995. https://archive.is/e4peU.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Griffin, Robert. "The palingenetic core of generic fascist ideology." www.web.archive.org/web/20061104014607/http:/ah.brookes.ac.uk:80/history/staff/griffin/coreoffascism.pdf

We define the Canadian "far-right" as a loose collection of individuals and groups which are anti-democratic, harbour racism and other forms of hate, and traffic in conspiracy theories. The far-right scapegoats systemically marginalized people, who are cast as undeserving of human rights, and sometimes targets them with violence.

We define "hate-promoting" to refer to ideologies, groups, movements, and individuals which target members of protected groups (as defined by <u>s.3(1)</u> of the *Human Rights Act*<sup>4</sup>), with actions or rhetoric that meet one or more of the *Hallmarks of Hate*<sup>5</sup>. This 11-point guideline is endorsed by the Supreme Court of Canada and defines attributes of hateful speech. You can find it in the appendix.

Far-right and hate-promoting movements in Canada are often characterized by racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, misogyny, anti-2SLGBTQ+ views, and pro-colonialist/anti-Indigenous bigotry.

Additionally, although these specific kinds of far-right politics overlap the vast majority of the time, in some cases they do not. For example, while many anti-trans activists happily collaborate with anti-feminist far-right groups, other anti-trans activists are adamant in their support for abortion rights, feminism (although exclusively for cis women), and even socialism.

While straight, cisgender white boys and men make up the majority of people involved in hate-promoting movements, there are numerous examples of girls and women, Indigenous and racialized people, and queer and trans people being tolerated (for the time being) as members in some of these movements. This usually requires internalized racism, misogyny, or other bigotries from non-straight, non-cisgender, non-white, non-men—and for this internalized bigotry to be performed constantly.

Below is a non-exhaustive list of the kinds of far-right and/or hate movements we have seen in Canada in the last few years. There is often overlap between these movements. Some groups, like Diagolon (which includes white nationalist, militant accelerationist, and conspiracy theorist elements) defy easy categorization into just one "type."

- Anti-2SLGBTQ+ activists who may target the community broadly or the transgender community specifically.
  - Examples: Canadian Women's Sex-Based Rights, Alberta Women's Human Rights Commission, media outlet LifeSiteNews
- Christian nationalist groups which believe that Canada was founded on authoritarian, conservative Christianity, and should be governed accordingly today.
  - o Examples: Campaign Life Coalition, Liberty Coalition Canada, Action4Canada
- Conspiracy theory movements.
  - Examples: QAnon, COVID-19 conspiracy theories
- Male supremacist decentralized networks, which believe in the supremacy of men over women and other genders
  - o Examples: incels and "men's rights activists"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Canadian Human Rights Act, RSC 1985, c H-6. https://canlii.ca/t/555n8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Warman v. Kouba, 2006 CHRT 50 (CanLII). https://canlii.ca/t/1g60v.

- <u>Militant accelerationist networks</u> which endorse a set of (often violent) tactics intended to put pressure on and worsen latent social divisions, hastening social collapse<sup>6</sup>
  - o Examples: The Base, Atomwaffen Division/National Socialist Order
- Neo-Nazi and neo-fascist networks, which openly admire and/or aspire towards National Socialism or fascism.
  - o Examples: Vinland Hammerskins, Active Clubs, Quebec Stompers, Atalante
- Youth-led groups and movements which target young people for recruitment.
  - Examples: Canada First, Rightwingism, Nouvelle Alliance, Save Canada, Kernatium Division

There is often ideological and activist crossover between these subset ideologies, and their propaganda may hide their true intent.

For example, misogyny and varying degrees of <u>male supremacism are found all across hate-promoting</u> and far-right movements. Militant accelerationists frequently attempt to <u>recruit youth</u>, and at least one such group was founded and <u>run for years by a child</u>.

Trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs) co-opt the rhetoric of feminism to marginalize and attack the transgender community, even though they are sometimes gay, lesbian, or bisexual themselves. They have been known to <u>collaborate with</u> anti-queer Christian nationalists.<sup>10</sup>

After the January 6th attack on the U.S. Capitol, mainstream social media sites banned Trump and many of his ardent followers. Additionally, the social media site Parler shut down, leading to a massive influx of new users on Telegram, another alt-tech platform which is a favourite of terrorists. Many neo-Nazis almost immediately changed their posting habits on the platform, turning to sharing COVID-19 conspiracy theories and other less overt messaging in order to recruit these new users.<sup>11</sup>

Groups, names, and affiliations will change. It is more important to understand the far-right network as a whole, and how the parts work together inside of it. The threat of the network is greater than the threat of the group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kriner, Matt. "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism." *Accelerationism Research Consortium*, June 22, 2022. www.accresearch.org/shortanalysis/an-introduction-to-militant-accelerationism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Miller, Cassie. "Male Supremacy Is at the Core of the Hard Right's Agenda." *Southern Poverty Law Center*, April 18, 2023.

www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2023/04/18/male-supremacy-core-hard-rights-agenda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Davies, Jordan, and Emilia Davies. "Terrorism: Police Concern over Teen Far-Right Extremism." *BBC News*, January 26, 2023. www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-64399335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Nabert, Alexander, Christina Brause, Bryan Bender, and Nick Robins-Early. "Death Weapons': Inside A Teenage Terrorist Network." *Politico*, July 27, 2022.

www.politico.eu/article/inside-teenage-terrorist-network-europe-death-weapons/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Burns, Katelyn. "The Rise of Anti-Trans 'Radical' Feminists, Explained." *Vox*, September 5, 2019. www.vox.com/identities/2019/9/5/20840101/terfs-radical-feminists-gender-critical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Miller, Christopher. "Neo-Nazis and White Supremacists Are Coding Their Language on Telegram to Recruit More People." *BuzzFeed News*, April 21, 2021.

www.buzzfeednews.com/article/christopherm51/neo-nazis-white-supremacists-telegram-recruit.

### Defining & doing antifascism

Like fascism, there are many definitions of antifascism.

We think of antifascism as being the belief that fascism must be confronted everywhere and in every form it appears.

We also agree with antifascist Shane Burley, who wrote in *¡No Pasarán! Antifascist Dispatches from a World in Crisis*, "although there is certainly overlay and fuzzy boundaries, the term 'fascism' does not apply to all the far-right, yet antifascism takes on an expanded list of opponents based on their fascist potential or their ability to maintain some of the most egregious aims, effects, or consequences of fascism."

He also says antifascism "must take on challenges where it sees potential far-right growth, even when that is not agreed upon by the larger public or subculture."

For that reason, we at CAHN include the far-right broadly under our mandate, and those with "fascist potential" specifically.

Every item on this list contributes to the goal of increasing our capacity to create a better world for all people, and decreasing the capacity of fascist, far-right, and hate-promoting movements to do the opposite.

Antifascism is a "long game." We won't always come away from every single action feeling like we "won," and it is important not to get discouraged by that.

It can be helpful to avoid thinking in binary terms of "success vs failure." Here are some alternative ways you can assess and reflect on actions you take as an antifascist:

- What would we do differently (or the same) next time?
- How did we look to the mainstream? How did they (fascists/far-right/hate movement) look to the mainstream?
- How did we feel afterwards? How did they feel afterwards?
- What was the "cost" of our participation in this action? What was the cost of theirs?

Antifascist actions are not a zero-sum game. Sometimes, an action will increase both our and their morale.

For example, at the Fall 2023 "One Million March for Children" demonstrations, many antifascist and allied groups came away feeling good about the action. We had larger numbers than the far-right, and no one was harassed or intimidated. At the same time, many on the anti-2SLGBTQ+ side came away feeling good, too, because despite their smaller numbers, they were still able to take up the space they wanted, and give the speeches they'd written.

Would it have been a bigger "success" for antifascists if the far-right had been entirely **deplatformed?** Of course! But that doesn't erase the increase in morale that antifascists and our allies gained, which will hopefully lead to bolder future actions.

#### What's deplatforming?

A fundamental principle of antifascism, deplatforming means we take steps to prevent fascist and far-right movements from reaching an audience. There are a wide range of actions that fall under this umbrella—as simple as asking a social media platform to remove a racist account or as big as asking a music festival to cut an antisemitic performer. As author of *Antifa: The Antifascist Handbook* Mark Bray <u>puts</u> <u>it</u>, we work to deplatform fascist and far-right groups and individuals "before they can expand into murderous movements or regimes, as they have in the past." <sup>12</sup>

We know that what's in this guide is a long list, and it may feel overwhelming to consider where to begin. That's okay. Start with one or two actions that build on skills you already have. Are you an artist or designer? Check out #20: "Make a Spectacle." Do you have great research skills? Consider focusing on #3: "Keep an eye on the local far-right."

Remember: everyone has something to contribute, and by leveraging skills and relationships you already have, you're not starting from zero.

The actions in here reflect the experiences of antifascists over several decades. But please be aware that some tactics are more effective against certain far-right groups than others. Part of getting to know your opponent includes selecting those tactics which will be most effective for each situation.

Finally, there is the question of danger. The most dangerous position is to be an activist but also easily identifiable. If this is you, be sure to lock down your digital and real-life security, ensure that family members and others close to you are not in vulnerable positions, and discuss safety plans with them.

# I. Get started

## 1. Learn about far-right movements

The first thing you need to do is learn about the far-right. Like all political movements, it's composed of groups, individuals, and networks who organize around specific issues. They spread talking points, recruit, and fundraise in order to influence society and sometimes government policy.

The far-right often uses words and symbols to express bigoted ideas without saying what they really mean—a tactic known as a **dog whistle**. This is just one of the deceitful approaches they use to hide their true politics so they can gain a foothold where they would otherwise not be allowed. Learn their language.

If you are comfortable, consider looking at their propaganda, including social media, videos, articles, and books. Before doing this, consider the ethical, legal (assess the possibility of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Melville House Books, and Mark Bray. "No platform for fascism: A Q&A with Antifa author Mark Bray." *Melville House Books*, August 22, 2017.

www.web.archive.org/web/20221206235944/https://www.mhpbooks.com/no-platform-for-fascism-a-qa-with-antifa-author-mark-bray/

whether you will be sent materials that meet the bar of criminality), and safety (both physical and psychological) implications. You can find resources to help you think about and plan for this at the end of this document.

There have been situations where researchers became so affected by continuous exposure to the content that they adopted the ideas they were researching. Additionally, members of targeted communities may feel the impacts of the material they are researching more acutely, especially when the material is targeting their identities. CAHN recommends that, whenever possible, this work be done as part of a supportive and mutually accountable affinity group.

Learn about how propaganda (especially graphic and triggering material) is used by extremist movements to "self-radicalize" new recruits. For example, Ernie Piper's "Traumatic Images Polarize the Abortion Debate" article shows how graphic anti-abortion images are used to do this.<sup>13</sup>

#### What's a dog whistle?

A dog whistle is a coded or obscure reference meant to signal a specific meaning to fellow travellers and like-minded believers, while also slipping into mainstream discourse undetected and giving plausible deniability to the person making it.

Examples: "1488" is a common neo-Nazi dog-whistle that references the 14 words (a fascist slogan), and 88, which is a numerical stand in for "Heil Hitler" as the letter H is the 8th letter of the alphabet; "109 countries" is a reference to an antisemitic myth that Jews have been expelled from 109 countries.

You can check out <a href="https://nates.com/h

#### 2. Find collaborators

While there are national groups like CAHN that look at far-right organizing, they can't track everything that's going on in each community. That's where you come in.

This kind of activism is a lot of work and it's best done with like-minded people. Try not to do this in isolation—work with others. Share your research with people for gut and fact checks, and for accountability reasons. Forming <u>affinity groups</u>, organizations, and <u>coalitions</u> will help you get more done.

Consider developing specialties (ideally that you have existing knowledge or interest in) regarding the networks, beliefs, or tactics of the far-right. This helps you prevent replicating

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Piper, Ernie. "Traumatic Images Polarize the Abortion Debate." *Logically*, May 5, 2022. www.web.archive.org/web/20220505152443/https://www.logically.ai/articles/traumatic-images-polarize -the-abortion-debate.

work, and lets you tackle more at once. Try to find collaborators who have different skills and areas of knowledge. For example, you can have a trove of excellent research, but you'll need strong communicators—like writers, public speakers, and media liaisons—to get your message out as widely as possible.

#### What's an affinity group?

An affinity group is "a small group of people who come together to prepare for and take direct action. They make decisions together, and support each other during and after action. Sometimes these groups are formed just for one action, but often they are ongoing groups that organise and take part in actions over a number of years." (Learn more at Seeds for Change<sup>14</sup>)

#### What's a coalition?

A coalition is "an 'organization of organizations' united around a common issue and clear goal(s); however, sometimes the term 'coalition' is used to refer to groups of diverse individuals or organizations of individuals who are involved in other groups as well." (Learn more at <u>GSA Network</u><sup>15</sup>)

# 3. Keep an eye on the local far-right

Now you should be ready to identify your local far-right groups through open source research (research that is based on content that is publicly available online). You can learn about what groups are organizing by paying attention to stickers and posters around your community, and watching social media.

Once you've identified these groups, you'll want to keep track of what they're up to. Be prepared for some sleuthing, as this may not always be public. Gathering evidence is crucial: document their groups, media, events, overt bigotry and racism, celebrations of and incitement to violence, death threats and targeted harassment, and infighting and leadership changes. Monitor far-right presence at events and identify attendees. It isn't always necessary to go in-person to do this—they are often livestreamed.

Some individuals take on the necessary work of infiltrating far-right groups by creating a false persona in order to gain access to less-public online spaces. There, far-right groups often share their most vicious hate and racism, and encourage and plan events and violence. If you are infiltrating groups you must be responsible for your own safety. Do not attempt this work without first learning deeply about the group in question and taking precautions, including protecting your identity. For more information see the resources at the end of this guide.

You must also always be mindful of your primary responsibility to prevent the far-right from terrorizing marginalized people, which means you should never incite or participate in far-right violence (i.e. do not encourage or participate in their attempts to dox or harass people).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Affinity Groups." Seeds for Change. www.seedsforchange.org.uk/affinitygroups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "Coalition Building." GSA Network. www.gsanetwork.org/resources/coalition-building/.

Take good notes, screenshot everything, and archive whatever you're able to because you never know what will end up being useful later on, or what will be needed by others for verification or even legal reasons. In an age of widespread image manipulation and AI generated images, it's good to be able to provide archived copies of your evidence in addition to screenshots whenever you can. Archive.org and archive.today are popular and generally stable, although these sites don't always work for social media platforms. Far-right movements generate a lot of content, so it is important to take the time to organize your data effectively; use simple systems that you can follow consistently.

### II. Take action

### 4. Release your research

<u>Doxing</u> fascists has a direct impact on their lives, even if you don't see it right away. For example, a number of participants in the 2017 <u>white supremacist rally in Charlottesville</u> were indicted six years later on felony charges for carrying lit torches with intent to intimidate.<sup>16</sup>

Whether you found out an individual's identity or plans a group is hatching, there are a few different ways to release your research. Sometimes it only takes a few strategically placed flyers or a brief phone campaign to disrupt their organizing activity. Groups will also release information on blogs or social media accounts.

Alternatively, you can keep your work quiet and feed the information directly to local journalists. Articles in mainstream publications usually have greater impact than information released directly by activists.

We recommend building relationships with journalists who have experience covering the far-right. Don't share anything with a journalist that you don't want to be immediately published unless they agree in advance that your conversation will be off-the-record, and you trust them to honour that agreement. Off-the-record is different from "on background." On background means that they can use what you tell them in their story, but they can't identify you or quote you directly. Always discuss the parameters of this in advance.

**Example:** Montréal Antifasciste identified Gabriel Sohier-Chaput as "Zeiger," an infamous and prolific neo-Nazi propagandist. The group told the Montréal Gazette that the idea was to "make racists afraid again." Their work exposing Zeiger lives on in the Montréal Gazette coverage, 17 and on Montréal Antifasciste's social media accounts and website 18—a great example of covering your bases to make sure that fascists can never slip back into the shadows after being identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Wendling, Mike. "Charlottesville Torch Marchers Face Criminal Charges Six Years Later." *BBC News*, April 19, 2023. www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-65307774.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Milton, Jon, Shannon Carranco, and Christopher Curtis. "Exclusive: Major Neo-Nazi Figure Recruiting in Montreal." *Montreal Gazette*, May 4, 2018.

www.montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/major-neo-nazi-figure-recruiting-in-montreal.

18 "Gabriel Sohier Chaput, Aka Zeiger: The Montreal Keyboard Nazi Who Wanted to Be Goebbels."

Montréal Antifasciste, February 12, 2021. www.montreal-antifasciste.info/en/2020/11/19/zeiger/.

#### What's doxing?

Doxing is the practice of making private or personal information public, such as releasing an individual's address or place of employment. It is also sometimes used to refer to matching a username or profile to an individual's real name, forcing them to be personally accountable for things they posted anonymously.

- The far-right doxes people in marginalized communities and their supporters because they want to hurt them. For example, anti-abortion extremists have for decades shared "hit lists" of abortion providers, including keeping track of when each provider is wounded or fatally injured in an attack. 19 Sometimes the far-right pairs doxing with swatting—calling in false crimes (usually ongoing violent crimes like hostage taking) to police with the intent of having "SWAT" (heavily armed law enforcement) respond aggressively at the target's location. The goal is to traumatize the target, if not have them injured or killed by overly-aggressive police. For example, the Atomwaffen Division doxed and swatted dozens of journalists, along with a historically Black church, an Islamic centre, and other targets.
- When antifascists dox somebody, the goal is social accountability—to make their hateful activities known and to make it such that their employers, family, and friends may have conversations with them about their behaviour, or set boundaries, up to and including firing the person or ending friendships. The goal is to create a social cost for hate, and curtail their toxic behaviour. For example, several former fascists have cited fear of being doxed as an incentive to disengage from hate movements.

# 5. Remove & replace far-right propaganda

Don't let the far-right have any ground! They often put up flyers and stickers in public places. Immediately remove these and ideally replace them with your own messaging. This lets the far-right know the community won't look the other way, while telegraphing targeted groups that allies have their back. Some people carry stickers around with them for this purpose, but a black marker works, too.

Even in areas where the far-right has a lot of support, make sure you keep a presence there. Remember that no community is monolithic, so whenever possible, find those inside who are pushing back against the fascists and offer them support.

## 6. Push public groups to oppose fascism

Identify organizations that the far-right is targeting for recruitment, and encourage them to speak out against fascism generally, and local groups specifically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cohen, David S., and Krysten Connon. "The Man Who Perfected Online Threats against Abortion Providers Just Died." *Slate Magazine*, May 21, 2015.

www.slate.com/news-and-politics/2015/05/neal-horsley-of-nuremberg-files-died-true-threats-case-reconsidered-by-supreme-court-in-elonis.html.

**Example:** In 2019, the Royal Canadian Legion instituted a policy declaring that it would not affiliate itself with groups or organizations which promote hatred against protected groups. The policy was developed after Alberta branches of the organization received backlash from CAHN and community members for allowing far-right groups to rent their facilities.

### 7. Develop a communications strategy

Making sure your message gets where it needs to go is often one of the most challenging aspects of antifascist organizing and research. Use accessible language, be consistent in your messaging, and be specific in your calls to action.

Here are a few things to consider:

- What language(s) should your messaging be in? Who will translate it?
- What are you assuming that your audience does or doesn't already know?
- Make sure to add alternative text to any images you upload to social media or to a
  website.<sup>20</sup>
- Avoid using jargon whenever possible. Use language that your audience is familiar
  with, and consider including more definitions than you think you need, to make sure
  vou're understood.
- Think about who—if anyone—in your affinity group will speak to the media. This may
  or may not be the same person who speaks at rallies. They should be someone who
  is comfortable being identified as an antifascist.
- Make your calls to action specific and doable. Where possible, offer alternatives. For example, if you are asking for people to protest outside a far-right event, consider also calling for people to phone or write emails to the venue and calling on them to cancel.

#### Refute their lies

Fascists are skilled at introducing slogans and talking points into political debate. These include false information about "white genocide" or the "great replacement," lies about the 2SLGBTQ+ community being predators, and supposed Jewish control of the media. Debating them publicly can make their lies look worthy of consideration. But circulating a list of common fascist talking points along with rebuttals gives community members tools to win personal arguments. And when people who have bought into far-right disinformation and bigotry are in a space of doubt and self-questioning, the facts will be ready for them to discover.

### 9. Engage institutional systems

One focus of the far-right has been disruption of school boards as part of opposing policies that are inclusive of transgender and non-binary people, as well as anti-racist education. Often, these institutions only hear complaints based on far-right disinformation and little else. Counter this by writing letters to your provincial-level elected officials and local school

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Hill, Carly. "8 Guidelines to Make Social Media Posts More Accessible." *Sprout Social*, July 31, 2023. www.sproutsocial.com/insights/social-media-accessibility/.

boards. Tell them that say that you support education that includes teaching about 2SLGBTQ+ people and policies that help transgender students be safe and supported. This is an important tool to combat disinformation. It also corrects the misconception that the far-right is the majority. Consider delegating at your local school board meetings in support of inclusive policies and anti-racist education.

If it is in line with your values and beliefs, you can use legal avenues to counter fascism. But be aware that this can drain your own resources (financial, practical, emotional) faster than your opponent's. Before you initiate any kind of legal action, it's also important to understand what kind of personal information about you (and others in your circle) could be revealed in the process. If you are working closely with others, you should discuss using this approach well ahead of time.

**Example:** Morgane Oger ran as an NDP candidate in Vancouver in the 2017 provincial election. During her campaign, notorious anti-2SLGBTQ+ activist Bill Whatcott distributed 1500 copies of a transphobic flyer. She lost the election by 400 votes. In 2019, the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal ruled that Whatcott's flyer was a discriminatory publication likely to expose a person or a group or class of persons to hatred or contempt. Oger's lawyer Susanna Allevato Quail told the Toronto Star that this set a legal precedent that it's not "a legitimate subject of public debate whether or not it's OK to be transgender or whether transgender people are real."<sup>21</sup>

## 10. Expose fascists at work & home

After identifying key far-right activists—especially those with violent histories—inform their local community, employer, and social circles of their activities. Notify their neighbours with flyers and door-to-door campaigns. Ask local businesses to refuse to serve them.

As antifascist criminologist Stanislav Vysotsky wrote in *American Antifa: The Tactics, Culture, and Practice of Militant Antifascism*, doxing "serves as a means of pressuring fascists to make a choice between their ideological position and engaging in normative familial, work, and social activities. By encouraging community mobilization in opposition to the fascism in its midst, such campaigns also contribute to building a broader culture of antifascism."

Don't get discouraged if you don't see immediate or satisfying results. Hate speech charges are rarely brought, and most institutions would rather quietly fire a fascist than admit they ever employed them. When fascists are exposed, most of the consequences will probably be private and interpersonal, but no less impactful. If possible, release your research to the community in which the individual lives or works. Publishing your research can be especially significant for the most vulnerable people in your subject's life. For example, we're aware of situations where our reporting has allowed victims of domestic abuse at the hands of our subjects to more effectively advocate for themselves and their children in the courts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Vikander, Tessa. "Vancouver Activist Morgane Oger Wins 'landmark' Transgender Rights Decision." *Toronto Star*, March 27, 2019. www.thestar.com/ news/canada/vancouver-activist-morgane-oger-wins-landmark-transgender-rights-decision/article\_ed 4252cc-3cbc-56e8-af4a-1500ad3a20f6.html.

**Example:** In 1993, Toronto's Anti-Racist Action (ARA) organized a demo outside the house of Heritage Front member Gary Schipper, who ran the group's telephone "hateline" out of his home. Beforehand, ARA activists went door-to-door, explaining their presence in the area to Schipper's neighbours.

As their report back to community groups put it, "While many were understandably nervous about a large militant demonstration passing through their neighbourhood, most were far more horrified to learn of a Nazi organizing in their backyards."

#### 11. Deplatform fascism online

Political movements need third-party financial platforms to take donations, as well as social media platforms to keep a fanbase. Depriving them of these significantly hinders their ability to spread their message, recruit, and fundraise. Just as with physical spaces, online platforms have no obligation to accept the far-right as clients and they can be pressured to do the right thing. When you approach these companies to demand they deplatform fascists, make a point to flag any health or election disinformation, or fraud, which are sometimes a stronger motivator for corporations to take action than hate.

**Example:** After CAHN published Sébastian Roback's profile of Nomos-TV, the most popular white nationalist stream in Québec, Nomos lost their YouTube and Paypal accounts. They now hide behind a paywall, which seriously limits their reach.

#### 12. Prevent the far-right from crashing social justice events

The far-right will show up at social justice events in order to disrupt them or spy on attendees. We have seen this in attacks and threats against Pride events and family friendly drag shows, which feature performers in colourful costumes and high-energy performances that are suitable for children. A favourite tactic of far-right activists is to start fights while filming people, in order to either get them arrested or to identify and harass them later. There are a variety of ways to intervene in these situations. In terms of violence, have a safety team ready who are familiar with local fascists and ready to de-escalate tense situations.

Prevent the far-right from filming activists with intention to dox and harass. For example, whimsical barriers like hula hoops in bubble-wrap can ruin their footage. You can also play loud copyrighted music, which sometimes results in their videos being removed from YouTube for copyright violation—Disney works well for this!

Make sure that once a far-right group starts to disrupt local events, the wider community knows. This behaviour is a warning sign for future violence.

**Example:** Antifascists, the 2SLGBTQ+ community, and their allies have organized tremendously successful counter demonstrations against anti-drag protests.

# 13. Drive wedges between individuals & groups

When you see the far-right trying to work with mainstream conservative groups, reach out to the latter with your concerns. If you offer them concrete evidence, they may cut ties with those on the far-right who express clearly bigoted views or engage in violence. And if they don't, use social media and the press to draw attention to their collaboration.

The far-right is a frequently fractious eco-system of conflicting personalities and competing interests, so you can help drive wedges between them by publicizing squabbles and infighting, especially when these occur inside a group. While individual far-right activists don't disappear when their groups fall apart, fomenting distrust is still an effective way to disrupt their organizing capacity. But be aware that the far-right knows this too, and may use the same tactic against antifascists.

#### 14. Find new collaborators

If the far-right is organizing in your community, take this opportunity to make connections outside your usual circles. Because fascists target and threaten so many different kinds of people, you'll find many potential collaborators. These might include organizations representing historically oppressed groups like racialized communities, the 2SLGBTQ+ community, Jews, Muslims, and immigrants and refugees.

You can also contact civil society organizations, faith-based groups, feminists and reproductive rights advocates, labour unions, and organizations that memorialize historical crimes (such as slavery, the Holocaust, and the genocides of Indigenous peoples).

Don't be afraid to ask for help! Reach out to those who you think would be good collaborators. Be upfront about who you are, what you need, and what you hope to achieve—as well as what you have to offer in return. Spend time understanding their concerns and ask what kind of support they need. Trust is built slowly by cooperation, but someone has to reach out first.

**Example:** The anti-2SLGBTQ+ "Million March for Children" in September 2023 was successfully countered in many cities across Canada by a broad coalition of antifascists, faith leaders, and members of the 2SLGBTQ+ community and allies.

# 15. Take up space in the community

If you know where the far-right is gathering ahead of time, you can disrupt their plans by taking up space first. Showing up early in numbers dampens their efforts and makes it clear their hate is not welcome. If they're planning a rally that requires a permit, one of the best ways to do this is to apply for one before they do.

But regardless of how you get there, taking up community space is an effective tactic. If they know they can't pull off events because the community will always beat them there, they may stop organizing in that location—or better yet, they might just stop entirely.

Taking up space afterward is good, too. Showing the community solidarity and care, and that there are people who will stand up to hateful bullies, is a great way to meet like-minded people and gather numbers for future actions.

**Example:** Shortly after the so-called Freedom Convoy occupied Ottawa in early 2022, local antifascists held a picnic in a nearby park. They used the event to meet others interested in

pushing back against fascism, and made it known that they were reclaiming their community. Since then, this network has been consistently active in opposing the far-right in Ottawa.

#### 16. Help fascists become formers

The people who make up the far-right are part of our society, and sometimes even our families and social circles. While it is possible to socially isolate fascists and far-right activists, this can be a lot harder to do when they are your friends or family. If you're in this position, you may consider trying to help them become a "former"—someone who has left far-right and fascist networks.

If you have someone in your life who is becoming taken in by hateful conspiracy theories or involved with the far-right, engage the person in unrelated activities to remind them that a world continues to exist outside that movement. If you're comfortable with this, try to leverage your existing relationship to enter into difficult conversations with them.

"Exit programs" can help facilitate this through. For example:

- Organization for the Prevention of Violence, evolveprogram.ca (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba)
- **ShiftBC**, shift.gov.bc.ca (British Columbia)
- John Howard Society, reset@jhsottawa.ca (Ottawa, Ontario)
- Yorktown Family Services, etaontario.ca (Southern Ontario)

While helping fascists become formers results is a net benefit, it is also important to prioritize the safety and security of communities targeted by hate. You will need to take care in deciding where and who you do this with. Not everyone will be comfortable sharing space with formers—especially those who have recently exited. Transparency and compassion are key.

# III. Be proactive

Social justice activists often lurch from crisis to crisis, with limited planning or infrastructure. When countering fascism you should make sure to be proactive. It's complex work and potentially dangerous, but good planning helps.

# 17. Get your message out first

Make your community's opposition to racist and bigoted ideas visible through flyers, stickers, posters, and window and yard signs. Far-right organizers are less likely to recruit in a community that has already made their opinion on the matter clear. However, at the same time we have seen fascists specifically targeting homes and businesses that openly profess left-leaning and antifascist beliefs, so be prepared to offer support (such as cleaning up hateful graffiti) if this happens. You can find antifascist and anti-racist stickers on places like Etsy.

#### 18. Build educational programs

Organize public talks, reading groups, and classes. You can discuss what fascism is, what the far-right looks like at present, and how to resist it. If it's too difficult to bring speakers to your town in person, webinars are a great way to make these events accessible and inclusive.

**Example**: As a supplement for other anti-racism education, CAHN offers an education program for caring adults called Confronting and Preventing Hate in Canadian Schools. It is specifically focused on responding to hate movements' propaganda aimed at youth, including the grooming and recruitment of students. This educational and outreach programming is also dynamic and custom materials can be developed for groups based on their needs.

#### 19. Hold memorial events

Almost all communities have histories of fascist, racist, and other bigoted violence. Hold events memorializing the victims, such as vigils and yearly remembrance services, and talk about how this past influences the present. You should also remember them by talking about their stories, making them into more than just victims. It is especially important in the aftermath of violent attacks to find out from communities targeted what they need and how they want to be supported. Connect with trusted and respected members of targeted communities to get a better idea of what the ideal approach is.

**Example**: In both the immediate aftermath and on the one-year anniversary of the London car attack that killed four members of the Afzaal family, community members gathered to honour and memorialize the victims. Many of these events included a salat, a Muslim prayer. In addition to attending to the spiritual needs of those most affected, it also functioned as an act of collective resistance and a way for the Muslim community to take up space while feeling protected by their allies.

### 20. Make a spectacle

Artists can help make political action irresistible! Ask for help in donating art for fundraisers and making beautiful fliers. Recruit musicians and dancers to come to protests. Counter fascist messaging by being more vibrant, more entertaining, and more approachable than them. Make your actions into the party everyone wants to be at—and if you don't know how to do that, then find a party promoter who can!

**Example:** In Coquitlam, BC in 2023, hundreds of people dressed in bright colours and costumes showed up to protect a drag story hour by holding a party that was physically between far-right bullies and the library where it was being held. They were faced by 50 or so bigots and far-right content creators, who were yelling and calling 2SLGBTQ+ community members "pedophiles." But they were barely heard over the party's music.

#### 21. Organize trainings & resource fairs

You can draw attention to far-right organizing and offer your community useful resources by holding trainings and skill shares. This might include first aid (especially Stop the Bleed courses), self-defence, personal and digital security, and bystander intervention. These trainings can also function as outreach opportunities and places to find people who are serious about doing work.

### 22. Form an emergency response team

Violence is central to fascism, so if fascists are organizing in your area there will be emergencies. You will also get last-minute calls when they hold unannounced events. Prepare emergency response teams with members who can jump into action at a moment's notice. Ideally, they should have skills such as medic training and self-defence. But remember that emergency response doesn't necessarily mean responding to violence. Teams can also organize rides for those who feel threatened when fascists are holding events.

Familiarize yourself with best practices for protecting your affinity group's privacy and security—remember that the far-right will try to infiltrate and disrupt antifascist organizing just like we try to infiltrate and disrupt theirs. Check out the Resources section at the end for more information.

Additionally, when deploying your emergency team, make sure to follow the SALUTE model of information sharing. Using the SALUTE model helps your emergency team know what they are walking into, and prevents unhelpful panic from arising out of vagueness or misunderstanding.

Size	How many are present?
Actions	What are they doing?
Location	Where are they, as specifically as possible? What direction are they headed?
Unit	Based on their badges, clothing, insignia, what kind of group is this?
Time & date	When exactly was this information observed?
Equipment	Are they carrying weapons? Flags? Be specific and don't speculate. If you don't know what something is, describe it rather than guessing.

### 23. Recruit early & often

There is no one way to oppose fascism. The broader the groups and coalitions you can build, the better. Make sure you recruit people with certain skills and knowledge sets ahead of time rather than scrambling to find them when it's urgent. There's always a need for graphic designers, therapists, lawyers and legal observers, journalists, translators, techies, writers, and de-escalation experts.

#### 24. Fundraise before you need it

All political movements need money. It might be for transportation, art supplies, advertising, lawyers, or legal fees. And since it's always better to already have the money in hand, be sure to fundraise before it's needed.

Unions have money to give. When you are soliciting them, remind them that the labour movement has long played an important role in anti-fascism. Unions also often have material resources you can ask to use, like meeting spaces and printers.

### IV. Counter-demonstrate

While our tactics should evolve and adapt, taking to the streets has always been one of the most effective avenues for change.

Large, public events that are explicitly fascist are rare. However, we have seen hundreds of rallies that are either covertly

far-right, or else welcome far-right involvement under the guise of "freedom," "anti-communism," "patriotism," or other dog whistles. This has been especially true for COVID-19 conspiracy theory events, which have included far-right groups and individuals and have many times provided them with a platform to spread their hateful ideas.

Counter-demonstrating within sight and sound distance of

far-right events can potentially deny them a high-profile public platform, attract support for your cause, and even overshadow them. Increase the efficacy of your counter-demonstrations by showing up to the location before they do and taking up space.

# 25. Win public opinion

Social media and press outlets have the power to sway large numbers of people, but you have to know how to use them. Use language appropriate to the audience you want to reach. Memes, comics, videos, and short articles in everyday language can give people accessible and fun ways of joining the fight against the far-right. Autism Against Fascism's article "What is Fascism? What is Anti-Fascism?" is written in plain language, and is an

excellent resource for sharing information about these topics in an accessible way.<sup>22</sup> This is when having excellent communicators in your group becomes important.

#### 26. Push local officials to do the right thing

In areas where permits are required, or when the far-right tries to rent municipal spaces like community centres, pressure local governments to refuse or revoke permits and bookings for far-right events, and to prevent this from happening again.

Check out CAHN's "Bad Actors Don't Get Stages: An Anti-Hate Guide for Venues" for more information on how to prevent the far-right from taking up space.

**Example:** In 2017, antifascists <u>successfully pressured</u><sup>23</sup> city officials in Rimouski, Quebec to cancel a booking for a speaker <u>described</u><sup>24</sup> by antifascist researcher Xavier Camus as "the chief propagandist of the xenophobic group La Meute."

### 27. Organize counter-demonstrations

If fascists are holding a public demonstration, you should be in the streets too. Remember that the far-right will likely try to dox organizers, attendees, and supporters, so take precautions. For example, if you chose to use Facebook, event pages should be set so attendees aren't visible. Do not create records of who attends or says they will attend demonstrations.

Large demonstrations are a lot of work and require many things that don't involve going into the street. This can include finding a planning space, getting permits and equipment, drumming up excitement, fundraising (which can be done both before and after), arranging transportation and housing for out-of-towners, setting up legal and communications support, and recruiting street medics. Look to the collaborators you have already formed relationships with to see if they can help.

Flyer those who live and work near the upcoming far-right rally to let them know about the event. You can also use this as an opportunity to go door-to-door to talk with people. Be as kind, courteous, and genuine as possible.

People are still getting sick and dying from COVID-19. Require attendees wear masks and stay home if they feel sick. We should not—and cannot afford to—leave anyone behind in the fight against fascism and the far-right, including disabled people and those at high risk of serious illness from COVID-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "What Is Fascism? What Is Anti-Fascism?" *Autism Against Fascism*, April 2, 2022. www.autismagainstfascism.wordpress.com/what-is-fascism-what-is-anti-fascism/. <sup>23</sup> "La Meute." *Montréal Antifasciste*. www.montreal-antifasciste.info/en/la-meute-2/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Camus, Xavier. "André Pitre (Alias Stu Pitt): Le Troll Professionnel." May 11, 2018. www.xaviercamus.com/2017/08/09/andre-pitre-alias-stu-pitt-le-troll-professionnel/.

## 28. Make it hard for far-right groups to meet

Having consequences for hate speech deters hate speech and makes it easier and safer to historically marginalized groups to participate in society. It may seem counter-intuitive, but this is why preventing hate speech is a net win for free expression. Our hate speech law, <a href="Section 319">Section 319</a>, is crafted to balance freedom of expression while criminalizing the worst hate speech. Unfortunately, it's not a deterrent for the worst offenders because the police won't enforce it unless they're seriously pressured, and some hatemongers laugh off the consequences. However, private venues are not bound by the high bar set by the Criminal Code, and are free to refuse a booking from hate groups.

Sometimes these spaces will refuse to cancel a booking out of greed. In this case, organize a call-in campaign to give them a push. If necessary, threaten a boycott and be sure to follow through if the event is held. After one place experiences fall-out, others will be easier to convince.

At the same time, offer support to businesses that choose to do the right thing. Public praise is a good starting place, but you can help them in other ways too.

If far-right groups make threats after a cancellation, offer to escort employees to cars and stay with them at bus stops. If someone smashes the space's windows, create a fundraiser to help cover cleanup costs. This helps build a community that is resistant to fascism.

**Example:** In February 2023, Montréal Antifasciste and their supporters pressured a fancy Montreal gallery to cancel a gala for far-right European Union MP Christine Anderson. This forced organizers to find an alternative venue last minute—a rural event hall an hour outside Montreal, inaccessible by public transit.

#### What's Section 319?

S. 319(1) prohibits the Public Incitement of Hatred ("communication in public that is likely to lead to a breach of the peace"), while s. 319(2) prohibits the Wilful Promotion of Hatred ("communicating in a public place, including words spoken or written or recorded electronically or electro-magnetically or otherwise, and gestures, signs or other visible representations"). Section 318 also prohibits "Advocating Genocide" through hate propaganda. Section 318 and 319(2) charges can only be laid with the consent of the Attorney General.

#### 29. Document their rallies

High-quality video and photography of those who attend far-right events allows people to research individuals later and to document any criminal acts they engage in. However, be warned that getting clear images is actually a lot harder than it seems. Years after both the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville and the 2021 Capitol Insurrection, those who attended are still being identified, even from grainy or obscured images.

Do your best to avoid recording or photographing those opposing the far-right unless they are taking on a more public role and you have their explicit consent. There are monstrous

harassers on the far-right that look at that content to find targets. It is everyone's responsibility to ensure safety for themselves and the community.

Also be aware that taking pictures and recording video makes it more difficult to pay attention to your surroundings, and it may make you a target. Consider working in teams so that your partners can keep an eye out for far-right violence.

#### 30. Don't be out-trained

It has become popular for fascists and far-right activists (organizing as "Active Clubs" and other similar groups) to train in boxing and martial arts with the intention of getting into fights with antifascists. If you are planning to attend protests where you know far-right activists will be present, you should consider training in self-defence skills like de-escalation, footwork, and blocking.

Cardiovascular endurance is also important—the best self-defence strategy is sometimes just to run. Ideally, learn from experts and train with others so you can practice as a group for confrontations.

#### 31. Call out fascists & call in colleagues

Ideally, everyone who opposes the far-right is on the same side. While it's normal and healthy to debate and disagree, publicly dragging each other helps the far-right. Remember that #13 ("Drive wedges between individuals & groups.") goes both ways. The far-right will often publish dirt on each other during personal or tactical disagreements. This behaviour shows us their weak spots and makes unity harder for them to achieve. Don't let them take advantage of this dynamic against us. Instead of airing conflicts in public, discuss your issues directly. Get to know other activists, form coalitions, and build relationships based on mutual respect and a shared desire for a world free of fascism. But if you can't, at least try to live and let live. Disagreements are inevitable—drama is not.

Note that this does not apply to individuals and groups with demonstrated patterns of abuse, bigotry, or associating with fascists; or who refuse to address concerns that have been brought to them privately.

# V. Be supportive

### 32. Warn people who are threatened, & support them

Fascists are violent, both in word and deed. As you monitor them, you will inevitably discover threats. Be sure to warn their intended target; if necessary, also take care that your sources remain confidential. Be sure that the information you are passing on is precise, specific, and accurate; you can use the SALUTE model in #22 ("Form an emergency response team").

If you have the capacity, offer support to those targeted; if you don't, refer them to those who can. Real world support for those targeted might include escorting them or their family in public, running errands, and guarding their homes. Digitally, this may include helping

someone wipe their online presence, adding security tools to accounts, or investigating who is threatening them. This is another reason to develop great open source research skills: in addition to using them against fascists, they can help identify gaps in your own online security.

#### 33. Establish a safe house

A safe house can be as simple as someone who is not known to the far-right and is able to offer a place to stay in an emergency. The person providing the place needs to make sure they are available to be contacted at all times.

#### 34. Help the loved ones of victims

Far-right attacks have rippling effects throughout a community, including impacting the loved ones of people killed in such attacks, so be sure to reach out and offer support. This may include raising money for funeral expenses, grief and trauma counselling, dealing with threats, and helping get their lives back together.

### 35. Aid the injured

In addition to those killed, thousands have been injured by the far-right. Reach out to victims and ask how you can be supportive. They may need help with money, legal issues, errands, or just need a shoulder to cry on. If the victim wishes to go to the authorities, offer to accompany them through the process. If they want to report a hate crime, but don't want to go through law enforcement, consider organizations like the Hamilton Centre for Civic Inclusion that track hate crimes without reporting to authorities.

# 36. Support those targeted by the law

It is not uncommon for law enforcement to see the far-right more favourably than their opponents. Therefore, antifascists often become entangled in the legal system. Facing charges, receiving a subpoena, and going to trial are all stressful—and often expensive—events. As a part of building a strong community, make sure you provide support for fellow activists.

Activists who catch charges for antifascist activities can apply for help with legal costs from the International Anti-Fascist Defence Fund. Antifascists often face trumped up charges and they all deserve the best legal defence possible.

**Example**: In February 2023, anti-2SLGBTQ+ activists held a protest outside a rec centre in Calgary against their trans-inclusive washrooms and change rooms. The protestors reportedly shouted homophobic slurs. Members of the 2SLGBTQ+ community and allies showed up to counter-demonstrate. Two teenage counter-protesters were charged under excessive noise bylaws and one of them was additionally charged under the new anti-harassment bylaw. CAHN launched a petition to the City to drop the charges. Within a day they made a public commitment to do so.

#### 37. Support imprisoned social justice activists

Activists who are charged with or convicted of criminal offences may end up in jail or prison. Make sure they stay connected with the outside world through letters, emails, phone calls, and visits. Letter-writing events are an excellent way to help provide this connection. And be aware that incarceration is not just a difficult experience, it's an expensive one. Commissary expenses, phone calls, and reading materials can easily add up to thousands of dollars a year—and that doesn't even include legal expenses. Families may also need day-to-day help or financial assistance to make prison visits. In addition to raising money, fundraisers are also an excellent way to promote awareness about the prisoner. Remember—you don't have to endorse what someone did to have empathy, and to practice solidarity and support for them while they are incarcerated.

# 38. Provide a platform for victims & survivors of hate to share their stories

If you've been able to create a platform online and/or offline for sharing your research and making calls to action, you can also use it to help victims and survivors of hate share their stories. At the same time, be aware that speaking out can have consequences, such as retaliatory harassment and threats, so be prepared to support victims and survivors in case this happens. Consider offering to publish their stories anonymously to help prevent this. Using your platform is a way for people to share their stories of being targeted by hate, without receiving a deluge of threats and harassment directed at their personal accounts

#### 39. Publicize threats & attacks

Mere threats of violence can silence activists by driving them off social media and limiting their public appearances. And members of marginalized groups—including racialized people, immigrants, Muslims, women, Jews, and 2SLGBTQ+ people—will always get unwanted attention from the far-right. Make sure you open lines of communication with those targeted and help provide the support they want. Doing so expands your potential coalition and weakens the efforts of the far-right.

Publicizing threats may neutralize them. However, at the same time, many harassers in the far-right are motivated by cruelty for cruelty's sake, and are often delighted by the attention their words can receive—especially if they were sent anonymously.

Sharing threats is most effective when the sender of the threat is also identified. If you are not comfortable publishing the name of the sender but you are confident in their identity, consider contacting their employer, family members, and religious leaders to inform them of the threats. This creates social consequences for their hateful actions.

# 40. Support communities pushing back against fascist recruitment

The far-right often tries to enter into existing social groups and communities to influence, recruit within, or take them over—a tactic called "entryism." Fascists have recruited from soccer supporters clubs; online gamers; music subcultures such as skinheads, neofolk, black metal, and punk; and various religious communities. In all of these cases, community members have pushed back. Since they are the best-suited to do this work, ask how you can support their struggle.

Fascists will also target social justice groups. They have engaged in entryism around Palestine activism, <sup>25</sup> anti-war activism, <sup>26</sup> criticism of Wall Street and international trade agreements, <sup>27</sup> radical environmentalism, <sup>28</sup> and animal rights. <sup>29</sup> Expose them and push them out. If organizers have been warned about the presence of far-right activists in their spaces and continue to permit this entryism, consider publicly condemning them as well.

**Example**: Deep Green Resistance (DGR) originally emerged out of the radical environmental movement, but was largely expelled after they embraced TERF politics. Nonetheless, DGR have continued to try (with some success) to take part in anarchist, environmental, and anti-capitalist movements. Because of this, Indigenous land defence groups and others targeted for recruitment by DGR have had to actively resist their incursion.

# Bonus round: Show your larger political vision

Your work is part of a larger struggle that is not just against white supremacy, but is against all forms of oppression. In addition to structural racism in policing, work, and housing, this includes attacks on immigrants and refugees, Islamophobia and antisemitism, anti-2SLGBTQ+ hate, misogyny, and addressing the inequalities created by the economic system. Collaborate with those fighting these forms of oppression whenever possible.

Make it clear that you are not just "against fascism," but that your actions are a part of a larger struggle against hierarchy and oppression—and in support of equality and freedom—for everyone in our society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Klee, Miles. "Verified Hate Speech Accounts Are Pivoting to Palestine for Clout and Cash," *Rolling Stone*, November 1, 2023, www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/twitter-hate-speech-accounts-palestine-clout-1234867382/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Burley, Shane. "Fascists Are Attempting to Win Followers by Rebranding as Antiwar," *Truthout*, March 19, 2023,

truthout.org/articles/fascists-are-attempting-to-win-followers-by-rebranding-as-antiwar <sup>27</sup> Sunshine, Spencer. "The Right Hand of Occupy Wall Street: From Libertarians to Nazis, the Fact and Fiction of Right-Wing Involvement," *Political Research Associates*, February 24, 2014, www.politicalresearch.org/2014/02/23/the-right-hand-of-occupy-wall-street-from-libertarians-to-nazis-t he-fact-and-fiction-of-right-wing-involvement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Holzman, Jael. "How a fight over transgender rights derailed environmentalists in Nevada," *Politico*, February 6, 2022,

www.politico.com/news/2022/02/06/nevada-transgender-rights-environmentalists-lithium-00001658 Lawrence, David. "From the Archive: The Far Right and Animal Welfare," *Hope Not Hate*, November 30, 2020, hopenothate.org.uk/2020/11/30/from-the-archive-the-far-right-and-animal-welfare

# Resources

# Organizations and websites that track & analyze the far-right

- ARC Collective, anti-racistcanada.blogspot.com (►)
- Canadian Anti-Hate Network, antihate.ca (1911)
- Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, globalextremism.org ( )
- Hatepedia, <u>hatepedia.ca</u> (
- Hope Not Hate, hopenothate.com (primarily 💥)
- Idavox (One People's Project), <u>idavox.com</u> (primarily
- Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, irehr.org (primarily )
- Media Matters, mediamatters.org (
- Montréal Antifasciste, montréal-antifasciste.info
- Political Research Associates, politicalresearch.org ( )
- Right-Wing Watch, <u>rightwingwatch.org</u> (**)**
- Southern Poverty Law Center, <u>splcenter.org</u> (
- Western States Center, <u>westerstatescenter.org</u> (

## Books about contemporary fascist and far-right politics

Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, Right Wing Populism in America (2000)

Kathleen Blee, Understanding Racist Activism (2017)

Shane Burley, Fascism Today (2017) and Why We Fight (2021)

Andy Campbell, We Are Proud Boys: How a Right-Wing Street Gang Ushered in a New Era of American Extremism (2022)

Patrik Hermansson, David Lawrence, Joe Mulhall, and Simon Murdoch, *The International Alt-Right: Fascism for the 21st Century?* (2020)

Talia Lavin, Culture Warlords: My Journey into the Dark Web of White Supremacy (2020)

Matthew Lyons, Ctrl-Alt-Delete (2017) and Insurgent Supremacists (2018)

Marci McDonald, *The Armageddon Factor: The Rise of Christian Nationalism in Canada* (2010)

Cynthia Miller-Idriss, Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far-Right (2020)

David Neiwert, Alt-America: The Rise of the Radical Right in the Age of Trump (2017) and The Age of Insurrection (2023)

Mike Rothschild, Jewish Space Lasers: The Rothschilds and 200 Years of Conspiracy Theories (2023)

Will Sommer, Trust the Plan: The Rise of QAnon and the Conspiracy That Unhinged America (2023)

Alexandra Minna Stern, *Proud Boys and the White Ethnostate: How the Alt-Right Is Warping the American Imagination* (2019)

Spencer Sunshine, Neo-Nazi Terrorism and Countercultural Fascism: The Origins and Afterlife of James Mason's Siege (2024)

Leonard Zeskind, Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream (2009)

#### Books about antifascism

Mark Bray, ANTIFA: The Antifascist Handbook (2017)

Shane Burley, ed., ¡No Pasarán! Antifascist Dispatches from a World In Crisis (2022)

Shannon Clay, Kristin Schwartz, Lady, and Michael Staudenmaier, We Go Where They Go: The Story of Anti-Racist Action (2022)

Stanislav Vysotsky, American Antifa: The Tactics, Culture, and Practice of Militant Antifascism (2020)

#### Learn about community defence

Bard Center for the Study of Hate, Western States Center, and the Montana Human Rights Network, *A Community Guide for Opposing Hate* 

Canadian Anti-Hate Network, <u>Guide for Pride Defenders</u> (includes handout, full colour guide, and text-only version)

Colorado Springs Antifa, Exposing Fascists: Best Practices

Southern Poverty Law Center, <u>Ten Ways to Fight Hate: A Community Response Guide</u>

# Learn about digital security & security culture

Electronic Frontier Foundation, Surveillance Self Defense Guide

Equality Labs, Anti-Doxing Guide for Activists Facing Attacks

Front Line Defenders, *Digital Security Resources* 

Olivia Lawrence-Weilmann, Digital Security

Panda Security, <u>How to Prevent Zoom Bombing and Secure Your Meetings</u>

### Learn about how to support youth affected by the far-right

Canadian Anti-Hate Network, <u>Confronting and Preventing Hate in Canadian Schools: A</u>
Toolkit

CO•RE Bloomington, Community Response to White Nationalism

Polarization & Extremism Research & Innovation Lab, Southern Poverty Law Center, <u>A</u>
Parents & Caregivers Guide to Online Youth Radicalization

Southern Poverty Law Center, Hate at School

### Learn about how to support youth affected by the far-right

Southern Poverty Law Center (Learning for Justice), Responding to Hate and Bias at School

Western States Center, Confronting White Nationalism in Libraries

Western States Center, <u>Confronting Conspiracy Theories and Organized Bigotry at Home: A</u>
<u>Guide for Parents and Caregivers</u>

# Appendix: Hallmarks of Hate

This 11-point guideline is endorsed by the Supreme Court of Canada and defines attributes of hateful speech.

- The targeted group is portrayed as a powerful menace that is taking control of the major institutions in society and depriving others of their livelihoods, safety, freedom of speech and general well-being.
- 2. The messages use true stories, news reports, pictures and references from purportedly reputable sources to make negative generalizations about the targeted group.
- 3. The targeted group is portrayed as preying upon children, the aged, the vulnerable, etc.
- 4. The targeted group is blamed for the current problems in society and the world.
- 5. The targeted group is portrayed as dangerous or violent by nature.
- 6. The messages convey the idea that members of the targeted group are devoid of any redeeming qualities and are innately evil.
- 7. The messages communicate the idea that nothing but the banishment, segregation or eradication of this group of people will save others from the harm being done by this group.
- 8. The targeted group is de-humanized through comparisons to and associations with animals, vermin, excrement, and other noxious substances.
- 9. Highly inflammatory and derogatory language is used in the messages to create a tone of extreme hatred and contempt.
- 10. The messages trivialize or celebrate past persecution or tragedy involving members of the targeted group.
- 11. The message calls to take violent action against the targeted group.